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swept the old world from the Atlantic to the Himalayas—mastered Western Asia, but as in North Africa, their type did not survive in any great degree. They were the lords of the old Hittite and Urartian kingdoms, and later of Armenia; but the physical type survives to these times only among the upper classes of the Kurds; here and there in Turkish villages, and among the Ossetians about the Daryal Pass.

All origins—of physical types, of styles in art, of languages—must always remain relative rather than definitive. One group, one family, one stock or style, when followed logically and dug into, is found to merge with others, and so on to imponderable depths. Languages, and for that matter styles in art, and men in their bodies and their minds, are like to rocks—here petrified and stratified, here crumbling, mingling with other crumblings, here growing all unnoticed, and receiving to themselves minute unnoted particles of what is crumbling and being blown about.

The languages of the Caucasus have been compared and in turn related to the various groups already classified; to the Aryan or Indo-European, to the Finno-Ugrian and Altaic—and to the Semitic. But it would seem that they have no connection with these families, except maybe the obscure affinities which fundamentally each group must have with all.

It would appear that the languages of the Caucasus may be regarded as a distinct and integral family of languages.

Professor Nikolai Marr, the greatest living student of the languages of the Caucasus, has appropriated the label "Japhetic" as applying, first, to the north and south Caucasian groups and further to various other languages with which he suggests they have affinity. These Japhetic languages, as do the Bantu languages in Africa and the Finno-Ugrian and Altaic languages over Asia, represent the human speech in a certain stage of development. They have become stratified in the agglutinative stage; that is, the languages have not developed beyond the running together of primitive words into compounds, in which the form and meaning of the constituent parts undergo little or no change. Marr finds elements of the Japhetic stratum in many of the languages of Europe, particularly in Basque, which he has compared with Georgian; and to a lesser degree in German. Further, he has by the evidence of tribal and place-names attempted to correlate many of the dead languages of the Mediterranean. Etruscan has certainly some points of affinity with the south Caucasian languages. Sayce,

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many years ago, established a connection between the languages of the Urartian inscriptions and Kartvelian. And of the Hittite languages there are certain elements in Kanesian, which indicate that this principal language of Boghaz-Keui, which has been recognized to be Aryan, was, like the later Armenian, a mixed language, having a substratum of the older language forms of Asia Minor.

The languages of the Caucasus represent the surviving remnants of this once widespread family of languages. The primitive ways of life of the mountain tribes, the continuity of a fixed social state, imply no change in thought, and hence little modification in the manner of expressing it. In Georgia, in the plains, foreign words by hundreds have intruded into the speech of the people—Persian words, Greek and Armenian, Arabic, Turkish, some few Russian words. But the structure of the language has been in no way modified; thus while to the English the Saxon Chronicle is in an unknown language and Chaucer difficult to mouth, the literary Georgian language has changed little since the days of the twelfth-century troubadours, and the first manuscripts, in Georgian, of the Bible.

For the study of Georgian and the elucidation of the character of the early historic languages of Western Asia, Armenian is important. The Japhetic substratum is protruding everywhere. Armenian is classified as an Indo-European language *"which appears to be a half-way dialect between the Aryan branch and the Slavo-keltic"*.[1] Armenian contains a large number of Persian loan-words, and Semitic influences in the language are also noticeable. Yet

> "when the Persian and other loan-words are removed, a stock remains of native words and forms governed by other phonetic laws than those which govern the Aryan, i.e. Indian and Iranic, branch of the Indo-European tongues."[2]

As contrasted with Georgian the clear Japhetic type-language—Armenian represents a hybrid language, in the development of which the Aryan speech of an intruding element has failed to submerge altogether the primitive language-forms of the autochthonous people among whom they came.

We may then consider the wave of Aryan conquest sweeping into Asia Minor in the centuries of the Swarming Time.

[1] F. C. Conybeare, *Armenian Language and Literature*, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition. Cf. also Note D, pp. 368–9.
[2] F. C. Conybeare, *supra*.

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THE BACKGROUND

174 The conquerors came with their new language, and as the wave of conquest dribbled through to the remoter valleys, so the language dribbled through, growing thinner and less staying on its way. The conquerors, as soldiers and overlords, mixed with the uprooted population, and dragged them on—as did the Turks and Mongols of the Middle Ages with the Georgian and Armenian barons and their burnt-out tenantry—to shift and fight in further nomad conquests. Thus were formed great tribes, potential peoples, who settled or stayed half-nomadic like the Kurds and Tatars of the present day. And when the Swarming Time was over, and men began to rule in cities, and others to write again, these shifting peoples emerge into the light of history; with changed names, moulding languages and old traditions, borrowed from the word-of-mouth anthologies of conquerors and conquered, woven to the doubtful fabric of a common history.

In this way the Armenians, sons of Haos (HA'IQ) spoke a language of which the predominant elements are recognized as Aryan. And the remains of the Aryan swarming are to be traced in some place-names of the parts bordering on the Caucasian lands.[1] The Georgians, speaking a language which is quite alien to those of the Aryan group, retain the clear tradition of close kinship with the sons of Haos (HA'IQ); and the records of their tribal foundings, of Mtzkhetos (MESH-(E)-K) and of Uplos (TUBAL), affirm great movements into the Mtkvari valley, about the time of this same Aryan swarming. Marr, who has attempted to deduce some elements of the Mushki (MOSOKH) language, finds in it certain indications implying Aryan influence, and we may, indeed, consider the Mushki as a mixed people akin with the Armenian tribes who were then founding principalities along the valleys of the Euphrates and the Araks—a people compounded of some conquering Aryan elements mixed with the drifting native folk of all these parts, who had been disturbed and dispersed in these anarchic times.[2]

Marr places the shifting of the Mushki (Mosokh) northwards and eastwards towards the Mtkvari plains in the fifth

[1] e.g. Georgian Tao, Armenian Daikh, the land of the Dakæ; Saksasene of the Sakæ; Gumri (now Leninakan) and Ghimri in Daghestan seem to retain the memory of Cimmerian settlements. Cf. Marr in *Iz. Gos. AK. I.M.K.*, IV, pp. 299–310.

[2] Hogarth, *C.A.H.*, III, 503, has suggested that before the twelfth century B.C. the Mushki had a common history with the Mitannians and Phrygians; i.e. there were definite Indo-European elements in the composition of the Mushki people. With regard to the other ethnic elements—autochthonous or Japhetic—it should be noted that G. Huisyng finds an affinity between Phrygian and Georgian; Börk between Mitannian and Georgian.

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century B.C. In the following hundred years they must have been in continuous conflict and contact with the local tribes settled in this quarter; nomadizing from the river valleys in the winter to the mountains in the summer, now fighting, now in friendly cognizance—as in the Georgian Annals we read in later centuries of the Kipchak and the Seljuk doing in like manner.

The indigenous tribes hereabouts were, it would seem, covered by the name CHAN (↔SON↔SVAN); and a memory of the period of the mingling of the two peoples may be suspected in the composite name SOMKH-eti (So↔MEKH↔SON↔MESKH) which is still applied to the mountains along the left bank of the Borchalo river—the border march between the Georgians and the Armenians.[1]

The Swarming Time became a vague memory in the legend of the sons of Targamos. The migrant tribes had settled, had displaced the tribes they found there, or had mingled with them; the mingling tribes had grown to peoples or had scattered, left their fragments, disappeared. Name-forms and their locations change in every written account from Ezekiel to Strabo and Pliny, and the historians of the first centuries of the Christian era. Feudal kingdoms had arisen and these again had changing names.

By the first century B.C. when the campaigns of Lucullus and Pompey had made the lands of the Transcaucasian Trough accessible to Roman travellers, the ethnic complexion of the peoples inhabiting the valleys of the Rioni and the Mtkvari was constant, to the extent that the flux which is race can be said to establish constant traits. The historical division of the Georgian peoples—the western Georgians, the Imierni "*on that side*", and the eastern Georgians, the Amierni "*on this side*"—had appeared. In the western basin, along the Rioni, and its tributaries were the people of Colchis, Egrissi of the Georgian Annals, Lazica of the later classical writers. In the eastern basin over the middle valley of the Mtkvari and the upland country north and south, was established the Kingdom of Iberia. These were the lands where the Georgian language in its kindred forms—Kartlian, Mingrelian and Svanian—was current.[2] And to the west and south-west between the rivers

[1] Compare also the composite names Celtiberia and, now, Czechoslovakia. The name Svan had originally wider implication than at present, as applied to the people of the upper valleys of the Enguri and the Takhenis-tsqali. It was applied to all the country as far as the Aragvi and the mountains inhabited by the Kists and Khevsurs. As late as the sixteenth century, Russian diplomatic documents use the name SONI in this sense. Cf. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 1ère Part, p. 44. The Georgians call the Armenians *Samekh-ai*. [2] See Note E, p. 369.

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194 feeding the Mtkvari was the country marching to the Armenians—Somkheti or the land of the Armenochalybes—"the Moschic territory" of Strabo—a borderland of mongrel stocks. The memory of the Swarming Time had dwindled to the vague legends of the hero-gods of tribes which were themselves merging their group-identities into the kingdoms of the Caucasus. Nevertheless the memory of the Mingling Time remained and with it the tradition of the common origin of the sons of Targamos, and some notion of the prevalence and decline of Aryan blood and speech which had flowed in on the troubled currents of the swarming.[1]

133 The ethnography of the main chain of the Caucasus is less clear. The western mountains were not well known to the ancient geographers; of the eastern mountains between the Daryal and the Caspian they only give us fabulous tales.

The western mountains of the Caucasus run in a south-easterly direction from the neighbourhood of the stagnant Sea of Azov—the Palus Mæotis of the Greeks—and they constitute the forearm of the easterly elbow of the Black Sea. They are precipitous forest-clad mountains which overhang the sea, and until the Russians built a coastal road at the beginning of the present century, there was no way past by land; all passage was made in the long flat-bottomed boats of the people of the country. Innumerable torrents find their way down from the short narrow valleys between the mountains into the sea, and in this way the coast is divided into mountain bluffs, which are cut off, each from the other, by these fast and furious unnavigable streams. Many of the streams make, at their mouths, among the woods, wide marshy tracks of ground. After Pitsunda point, the mountains turn inland, leaving a widening stretch of flat alluvial country. As the mountains turn inward and eastward, and the lowland strip widens to the Colchian plain, the rivers grow in length and size. All this country is favoured by the protection of the mountains; it is warm in winter, nor, unlike the Colchian plain, is it here too hot in summer. The moisture of the sea nourishes a rich vegetation. The orange, lemon, peach, pear, apple and grape flourish here, and the country has always been particularly noted for the growth of its cherries, chestnuts and plums.

Inland and eastward, the mountains are the most formid-

[1] Cf. the tradition embodied in the early apocryphal Annals. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 1ère Part, p. 31 and notes 3 and 4; cf. also p. 32, note 3.

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able of all the parts of Caucasus. From the Black Sea coast 133
to the Daryal Gorge there is no pass under nine thousand feet and here Elbruz, Adai Khokh and Kazbek raise their splendid heads. Under Elbruz and Shkara is a high alpine region. The streams run down from here into the middle course of the river Rioni, the greatest of the westward-flowing waters of south Caucasus. The land is poor and snowbound, craggy and periculous. From the Colchian plain there is access only during the months of July and August, when with difficulty the traveller can ascend the valley of the Rioni, and, crossing to the upper valley of the Tskhenis-tsqali, enter this bleak land of untutored hunters and shepherds of mean flocks.

The northern slopes of Caucasus are easier than the southern. In the west the grassy uplands are watered by many streams of a middle size, running down to join the great Kuban which finds its mouth round about the Taman peninsula—dividing spit between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Over all this back-side country, the upper valleys, of their nature, are sparse in the raw mountain atmosphere. Here the rare orochs —the European bison—survived until the beginning of the present century in one or two thin herds. The lower valleys and all the line of the Kuban are rich grainlands. This country, which suffered much during the centuries of horse-riding nomad power, was, in the Classic period, well inhabited by people trading with the Greeks—Scythian tribes who rose to passing kingdoms; and in the Bronze Age, before the time of written history, a great culture flourished here. Over the watershed of the western Caucasus, from the uplands of the Kuban to the steep forest-coast of the Black Sea, passage was rare and difficult; the best by the now-called Klukhor Pass, by the high tarn Teberdá.

Here to the north and west of the open Colchian plain, 174 •
lay this great mountain country, closed to newcomers by cliffs and precipices and snow, by forests and the sea; a good haven for remnants in flight from the coursing of the fairer lands, and where, once set, they might hold their peace against the conquerors of the open south; and scrape a meagre life, fall to a great obscurity among the nations, and cause some idle men to wonder on their ancient coming. And so there are in all this country tribes of some affinity with the people living in the southward open country, yet of a forgotten history, and with obscurely differing idioms. Of these tribes the Svans—Georgian *Svanni*—who inhabit the alpine country

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● 174 under the great peaks of Elbruz and Shkara—may be a remnant of the old indigenous stock which had the rich lowlands before the Swarming Time. The name root SVAN-SON was widespread through the Caucasus in the Classic period. The Lazes are still called *Channi* by the Georgians, and the Mingrelians in the Rioni basin are called *Zanar* by the Svans. The Svans are the Soanes of Strabo, and he is cognizant of their connection with the Mingrelo-Colchians when he remarks that—

> "some say they are called the same name as the western Iberians from the gold-mines found in both countries".[1]

Ptolemy speaks of the Suannokolkhoi. In Suannokolkhoi we have a composite name as in Son-Meskh (for Somkheti) and in Mos-San (for Mos-syn-oekh-oi, i.e. the native nominal synthesis with the native and the Greek terminations). The name-root SVAN↔SON crops out again in that of the Sineli, a tribe which Scylax of Caryander, writing in the sixth century B.C., places in the neighbourhood of the Taman peninsula, in the Heniokhes of Strabo and Appian,[2] the Sanighes of Arrian,[3] and in Sanna, the name given by mediæval Italian geographers to the ruins of Nikopsia.

The Abkhaz people who inhabit the country to the west of Svaneti and to the north-west of the Colchian plain, speak a language which is distinct both from the Svanian and the Mingrelian dialects of Georgian and from the idioms of the Circassian tribes, occupying the coastal valleys to the north-west and the Caucasian uplands to the north of Abkhazeti. The Abkhaz were known to the classical geographers as Apsilai, and later as Abasgoi. They call themselves *Apsua* and their country *Apsu*. A is the Abkhazian definitive article, and the root of the name is P-S. The sound-change P-B-M is in accordance with Georgian phonetics, and the name of the Abkhaz is undoubtedly identical with those tribal and place-names in the Caucasus which have their root in M-S (i.e. a-BAS-goi = (a) MAS-khoi. Again the various forms of the name PHASIS may be connected with the root M-S ↔ B-S. Varied forms of Phasis are widespread throughout the Caucasian lands. By the classical writers the name was applied with much confusion both to the Rioni and the Chorokhi. In the Georgian province of Samtzkhé at the sources of the Araks was the country of Basiani,[4] Byzantine *Phaziani*, Armenian *Pasean*, Turkish *Pasin*. It was the district of the

[1] Strabo, XI, ii, 19. [2] Cf. Dubois, I, 56-8. [3] *Idem.*, I, 69.
[4] Wakhushti, p. 121.

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Phasianoi of Xenophon.[1] The name Basiani occurs again in that of a valley situated to the west of the source of the Digori and to the north-east of Svaneti. Jan: shvili has correlated the words meaning "*water*" in Georgian, Abkhazian and Circassian with the root P-S, and it seems likely that this, as many other tribal name-forms, derives from a common element of nature. 174

Along the seaward mountains the names and the languages are obscure in their affinities to those of the Transcaucasian plains. Among the ancient geographers names recur in different forms from Scylax of Caryander in the sixth century B.C. down to the Middle Ages; yet we can see that the relative position of tribes bearing those names did not greatly change. Thus the small tribe Kerketes of the classical writers are the Cherkess of the Turks, the Circassians of the mediæval Italian travellers, and gave their name to all the people of the coast. These tribes may well have affinity with the Georgians, but the degree of their affinity and the origin of their tribal names and languages remain obscure. All the so-called Circassian tribes had some sense of common relationship; and they called themselves collectively ADIGHÉ, which the Georgians rendered JIKHI, the Arabs KECHEK or KASHAK, the Byzantines ZEKHI, the Venetians ZICHI. The name of the Akhæans of Strabo and Pliny, which some have thought to have indicated the existence of a colony of Akhæan Greeks, appears to be a mismouther of this native name. The Circassian (Adighé) people extended, in the early historic period, over the watershed along the valley of the Kuban and round the Sea of Azov and into the Crimea,[2] but they were submerged by the nomad peoples and pressed towards the upland valleys. Whether there was more than one ethnic element among the tribes who inhabited the coastal mountains in the historic period remains questionable. The existence among them of a strict caste system seems to indicate an imposed foreign element, but this caste system may have originated among them in the necessity of regulating the social status of the large number of slaves whom they captured in their raids against the peoples both of the Colchian plain and of the Crimea. The traveller, Dubois, records that when the Circassian princes and their familiars gathered in council to discuss the plans for a raid, they made use of a special

[1] Xenophon, IV, vi.

[2] There was a Circassian settlement in the Crimea as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century. See Dubois, I, 78 *et seq.*

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●174 language called "*chakobza*" which had no resemblance to Circassian. The people were not allowed to speak this language. Dubois suggests that this may be

> "an original language which might prove that there are several elements in the population of the Cherkess nation and that the princes and the nobility are intruders".[1]

The general name given by the Georgian Annalists to the tribes of the central mountain region—and in fact to any peoples entering Georgia from the north—is Alan. The Alans were, of course, well—and equally vaguely—known to the ancients. Minns is of the opinion that

> "Ammianus meant by the Alans all the nomadic tribes about the Tanais";[2]

and he suggests that

> "on the coming of the Huns, part of the Alans were forced westward, joined the Germans, against whom they were thrown, and ended as the inseparable companions of the Vandals in North Africa. Part of them were pressed up against the Caucasus . . . and about them are the Tatar tribes that penned them in".[3]

It is only at a later period that the Georgian and Armenian sources distinguish between the nomads from the steppe to the north of the Caucasus (Tatars or Turks, generally referred to as Kipchaks or Khazars), the mountaineers of Daghestan (Lazghi or Leki), and the Alans of the Central Caucasus (Os, As, or Iron,[4] Georgian Osni, Russian Ossetini). The distinctly Aryan character of the language of the Ossetians gave currency to the popular tradition that they were the descendants of Persian prisoners carried north after one of the many nomad incursions south of the Caucasus. And although it is possible that such settlements of Persians did become established in the valleys of the middle Caucasus, this story is not necessary to explain the existence of Aryan elements in the mountain country. Furthermore, Marr has established the Japhetic substratum of the language spoken by the present-day Ossetians, and it would seem likely that the Alans

[1] Dubois, I, 141 and 142. He states that Reineggs, II, 248, is the only one who has preserved "a few examples of this jargon". For the study of the Circassian language and its various idioms see works of Uslar and others. The best recent study is by A. Dirr in *Caucasica*, Fasc. IV, pp. 63–144, and Fasc. V, pp. 1–34—*Die sprache der Ubychen*. (The author pursued his studies among the remnants of the Ubych (Ubukh) Circassians scattered through Asia Minor.) For a contemporary survey of the remnants of the Circassians in the Northern Caucasus see *Sovyetskaya Adigeya*, Krasnodar, 1925.

[2] Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 37. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[4] The name of the Sea of Azov (classical Palus Mæotis) is a medieval Russian nomenclature meaning literally "Sea of the As" or Os; compare the Arab name for the Caspian—Bahr-ul-Khazar—"Sea of the Khazar".

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—and their textual descendants the Ossetians—were a people composed of mixed racial stocks.[1] The Cimmerians, and the Scythians after them, were, in all probability, of predominantly Aryan stock. And the Sarmatians, who followed the Scythians as the lords of the land round the north-east of the Black Sea, were a third and new Aryan element. These Aryan peoples—Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarmatians—each in their turn disturbed and displaced or absorbed the older inhabitants of the country north of the Caucasus. Later the Turkish conquerors who succeeded the Aryan peoples—Huns, Avars, Khazars, Pechenegs, Polovtzi and Kipchaks—did the same in like manner. The indigenous natives of the Euxine coasts were of a different stock to the conquering Aryan peoples who replaced them as the masters of the land, and they were presumably Caucasian, that is related to the Circassian tribes, who in historical times have inhabited only the narrow coastal valleys between Tuapse and the Kodori and inland as far as the Kuban. And the ruling tribe of the Scythian period, between the seventh and second centuries B.C., must have "*dominated many tribes of various origin, some Iranian and some Caucasian*".[2]

The Alans are, in fact, a people of mixed origin—the leavings of the migrations and disturbances which swept the plains to the north of the Caucasus, in the latter centuries of the pre-Christian era. Reclus, reflecting on their predominantly Aryan character, states at the same time that the Ossetians are "very mixed, including Georgian, Armenian and Kabard and other elements".[3] The country occupied by the Ossetians straddles the Daryal Pass—to which they give the Persian name "Dar-i-alan" or "gate of the Alans". In modern times they have always occupied the valleys of the Ardon and the Digor and smaller streams flowing north to the Kuban; and south of the watershed, the upper valleys of the Liakhvi and the Aragvi, draining to the Mtkvari. Along the Daryal Pass itself, they are mixed with mountain Georgians—who speak a curiously mediæval dialect and claim to be descended from old garrisons of the Georgian kings. The date of the establishment of Ossetian settlements south of the main chain is uncertain. Their incursions into the valley of the Mtkvari were frequent during the first thousand years A.D., and they were certainly settled in large numbers between Dusheti and Gori in the thirteenth century.[4]

[1] Marr, in *Iz. R.A.N.*, 1918 and onward, *Ossetica-Japhetica*.
[2] Minns, p. 127. [3] Reclus, *Universal Geography*, VI, 72.
[4] Brosset, *Additions et Éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Géorgie*, p. 377.

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172 centre of the flourishing trade which grew up under the realist government of the Arabs.

133 In the uplands of the middle Caucasus, eastward of the Daryal gorge, two rivers find their sources—the Yori and the Alazani. They run with the same direction as the Aragvi, and when the latter falls to the Mtkvari, these partner rivers take still the same direction, running parallel with the greater stream, until after a course of some two hundred and fifty miles, the two of them curl round to join the Mtkvari, first the Yori and then the Alazani entering it at points about two miles apart. The country of these two tributaries form two long sleeve-like valleys, converging gradually to the south-east. The upper part where the rivers take their source is high alpine country, the immemorial settlement of crude clans of Georgian mountaineers—the Khevsurs, who border on the Ossetians, the Pshavs and Tushes, who beyond the watershed have for neighbours to the north the Chechens, a forest-folk, and to eastward the highland-tribes of Daghestan. These Georgian clans from antique times were subject to the Georgian kings, who, in the first centuries of the Iberian kingdom, were making expeditions against the Phkhoels or Pshavs.

Lower, where the Aragvi, the Yori and the Alazani run through wide and gently sloping valleys, flanked by wooded bluffs, is the old settled land of Kakheti, rectangular between high Caucasus, the bleak escarpment of Daghestan and the Mtkvari—broad about one hundred miles and long close on two hundred. It is a fertile land, but wilder than Imereti and Kartli. It is mostly wooded and, above all, oaks abound. Pigs are more plentiful than in any part of the Caucasus; sheep and buffaloes particularly grow strong and plentiful.

157 The people, as in all the serried valleys of the Caucasus, have their own character—and differ somewhat from the other Georgians. Strong they are and lithe, their limbs well hung, with daring eyes, alert, keen, animal. Proud they are and arrogant, great talkers, lovers of compliment, makers of faction; reckless and loyal they are ever without reason, with gallant laughter, honourable without thought, faithful and generous; these peasants are great noblemen.

• 174 In early history the country of Kakheti was divided into three; between the Yori and the Daghestan mountains was Kakheti, which in the eighteenth century still retained the name particularly as Inner Kakheti; the land between the Yori and the Mtkvari was Kukheti and the lower region, above the confluence of the three rivers was Hereti. According to

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• 174 Wakhushti the name Kukheti went out of use, during the period of Arab hegemony, when a local dynasty became established in Kakheti; and the name Hereti was abandoned in 1466, when the kingdom of Kakheti was set up.[1] The country, particularly Kukheti between the Aragvi and the Yori, was under the political influence of the *mamasakhlisi* of Mtzkheta from the earliest period of the Annals, and it had part in the relatively civilized life of the Iberian plain from Mtzkheta and Kartli to Urbnisi. Zedazadeni, on the left bank of the Aragvi, a few miles north-east of the Iberian metropolis, was a principal centre of the cult of Zadeni,[2] and there were considerable settlements at Rustavi, on the left bank of the Mtkvari twenty miles below Mtzkheta; at Cheleti; at Déda-tzikhé or Bodchorma on the Yori; and at the troglodytic site of Nekresi at the foot of the mountains to the east of the Alazani. Lower down the Yori was the fortified place of Ujarma, which in the fifth century A.D. had become a large town;[3] and on the farthest border of Kakheti, in the triangular corner of the Yori and the Alazani was the ancient town of Hereti or Khoranta which had already seen its great days when it was destroyed during the Arab invasions.[4] Telavi did not become a town until the ninth century, and Signakhi, Gremi and Zaghani did not rise to importance until after the establishment of the independent kingdom in the latter part of the fifteenth century, at which time the strength of the Kakhian dynasts seems to have laid in the inaccessible eastern district of Inner Kakheti. In this region in the fifth century, besides Nekresi, both Iqalto and Alaverdi became of some importance, as noted shrines of the new religion.

Kakheti lay off the main trade-routes, which are also the routes of invasion. There are, however, records of early infiltrations of foreign elements. In the fourth century B.C. the Annals refer to a settlement of "Turks"—refugees from Persia who were granted the stronghold of Sarkine,[5] "the

[1] Wakhushti, pp. 284–5. That there was originally real distinction between KAKH and KUKH is clear both from Wakhushti and from the Annals. The root KAKH-KUKH is common in Ponto-Mediterranean place-names. It may have some relation to the form KOLKH, although it should be noted that Colchis was a Greek name and is never applied in Georgian sources to the land of Imier. We may compare such Mediterranean place-names as Kalkhis, Kalkedon and the Caucasian tribal-names Korazi (Strabo, III, ii, 6) and Kerketes (Scylax, ref. Dubois, I, 64). Hereti means the "land of Her" and from the context of the Annals, it seems to be a name older than any Georgian tradition. It is possible that it indicates some survival of the Harri or Hurri of the Boghaz-keui inscriptions among the early Georgians. The name-root is widespread. There was an Armenian canton of Her to the north of Lake Urmia, and a fortress of the same name in the province of Udi.

[2] Wakhushti, p. 301. [3] *Idem*, p. 293. [4] *Idem*, p. 289.

[5] Brosset, I, 30 and 33.

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•174 place of iron", and there was an ancient coming of Jews to Kherk in Kukheti.[1] The Iberian kings were masters of all the fertile parts of Kakheti as far as the lower reaches of the Alazani. Here was the border of the Albanian country—Aghovanq of the Georgian and Armenian chroniclers. The border country between the Yori and the Mtkvari were the cane-brakes and marshes of the classical Cambysene, in Georgian Kambechovani—"the plain of buffaloes".

000 The classical Albania stretched eastward from the Alazani as far as the Caspian, about two hundred miles; and from the "Albanian Gates" to the swampy embouchure of the Cyrus-Araxes, over two hundred miles from north to south. The Albanian territory extended along the southern bank of the Mtkvari, where it had an undefined and changing boundary with the Armenian province of Otene (Udi) and Sakasene (Siuniq) and with Median Atropatene.[2] It was a fertile land of wide grassy plains and wooded hills. The people, herdsmen mostly, and tillers of the soil led a life that was more than half-nomadic. Here, there was nothing of the civil life, which the Roman travellers remarked in Colchis and Iberia. In the first century A.D. there seem to have been no settled places unless it were Kabalaka near the site of Shamakha of later days.

The Albanians in manner and way of life were not very different from the nomads of the north;[3] they were great huntsmen and horse-breeders;[4] people unfamiliar with weights and measures, who used no coined money and who transacted their exchanges by loads. Yet when Pompey invaded the country, they put a more powerful army into the field than the Iberians, and while they fought in the hide breast-plates and helmets in use in Iberia, their leaders wore Armenian armour.[5]

Albania was under the cultural influence always of the Armenians and Persians rather than of the Iberians. In the *History of the Aghovanians* of Moses of Kaghankaituk, the author states that a cadet of the Armenian Arsakids was imposed as

[1] Wakhushti, p. 285: "It was called Kherk, because the Jews, flying from Nabukhodonosor, were established in this place by the Mamasakhlisi of Mtskheta, as tributaries, *Mikherkhi*."

[2] For these two provinces see St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, I, 86–91 and 142–56. The northern part of Siuniq along the Mtkvari to its junction with the Araks became later the provinces of Artsakh and Paidaragan.

[3] Pliny, V, i, 10.

[4] Strabo, XI, xiii, 7: "The country is peculiarly adapted, as well as Armenia, for breeding horses. There is a meadow-tract called Hippobotus ('horse-pasture') which is traversed by travellers on their way from Persia and Babylonia to the Caspian gates. Here, it is said, fifty thousand mares were pastured in the time of the Persians and were the King's stud."

[5] Strabo, *ibid.*

3: Gugushvili E-4, 5 (no date) 1935 RII Georgia

101 162 103 131 *Abotsi*, called formerly *Palaktsio* and later *Qaiquli* (*Kaikul* of the Russian maps), the land south of Javakhet'i, between Artan-Kola (west) and Tashiri (east), divided from the latter by the mountains of Karakhatch or Qaraghaj (formerly called Irjan); on the south it was bounded by Mount Agh (Akh)-Baba.[1]

174 103 Upper K'art'li was, and is still, called **Meskhet'i** (Meskh-et'-i), which indicates that it constituted the country of the Meskh-s, Meskh-ians. The Meskhians were one of the first Georgian tribes to enter Transcaucasia and settle in what later became known as Georgia. There are evidences which enable us to deduce that they had spread earlier into Western Georgia and northward, and later into Eastern Georgia,[2] where they seem to have organized their political life with a centre at Mtskhet'a, the ancient capital of Georgia (from fourth century B.C. to fifth century A.D.).

"As the ancient metropolis of the Georgian Kingdom was called Mtskhet'a," states Professor Javakhishvili,[3] "one is led to the conclusion that when the Georgian tribes were settling in Georgia the Meskhian tribe must have possessed the greatest political importance, for the name of the ancient capital of Georgia, *Mtskhet'i* or *Mtskhet'a*, denotes Meskhet'i or 'the settlement of the Meskhians'; a similar form, *Mtskhe*, of the name of the Meskhians is preserved in the name of the country where later dwelt an inconsiderable part of the Meskhians, namely, in Samtskhe (Sa-mtskh-e); in this word as in the word Mtskhet'a, the *mtskhe* denotes Meskhians."

103 Of their domination in Eastern Georgia we are reminded to-day not only by the name of Mtskhet'a, but also by that of a whole province called Somkhit'i, part of Lower K'art'li, which, according to the late Professor N. Marr, represents a compound ethnic term composed of the names of two ethnic groups, the Son-s or Svanians and Meskh-s, Meskhians, denoting thus the country of the Svano-Meskhians.[4]

The name Meskhet'i in this sense implied a wider conception and included not only what later became known as Upper K'art'li, but also Inner K'art'li. Meskhet'i implies a wide conception even in the sense of Upper K'art'li; actually Meskhet'i proper, in the narrow, ethnographic sense, was only the upper valley of the Mtkvari from the Tasis

[1] Situated between Upper K'art'li or Meskhet'i and Lower K'art'li, Abotsi formed part sometimes of Meskhet'i and sometimes, particularly during the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, of Lower K'art'li (Javakhishvili, *Frontiers of Georgia*, pp. 35–6).

[2] Meskhians were preceded in Eastern Georgia by other Georgian tribes, such as Kasko-Kolkhians whence the names Kakhet'i, Kukhet'i, etc. An article dealing with the question of the settlement of the Georgian tribes in Transcaucasia will be published in a future number of *Georgica*.

[3] *History*, vol. i, (1913), p. 89.

[4] Son-meskh, resp. Shon-meskh → so-mehkh → so-mekh → = → so-mkh → so-mkh-et'-i. N. Marr, *Astronomical and ethnic meanings of two tribal names of the Armenians* (in Russian), in *Bulletin* ("*Zapiski*") *of the Eastern Branch of the Russian Archæological Society*, St. Pb., 1921, p. 252.

6: Grigolia E-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RI1 Georgia RI1
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Dr. Radde,[7] "you are convinced that neither in their head-form, their physiognomy, nor their stature do they show anything strikingly typical. But, like the Georgians of Megrelia, they represent a mixed people."

On the other hand, one of the best explorers of the mountain regions of the Caucasus, the German alpinist, G. Merzbacher,[8] disagrees at the outset with the current opinion that the Svans represent a mixed people. He maintains the existence of a clear specific type among the Svans, making them easily discernible among the other groups of the Georgian nation. Later, however, he admits differences in physical types in every Svan community, seeing its cause in endogamy. He writes: "Dass man aber in jeder besonderen Gemeinde einen etwas anderen Typus ausgebildet vorfindet is durch innerheirat erklert."

According to the opinion of D. Z. Bakradze,[9] the Svans retain the physical traits of the Georgian mountaineers—the Mthiuls, the Khevsurs, and Pshavs—with the facial expression of the inhabitants of Southern Svanetia, much softer than those of the northern part of the country.

Concerning these views of the learned author, we must note that this group of Georgian Highlanders shows by no means a specific physical type, which fact is confirmed by every investigator and traveler who has come in contact with these people.

Drastic and contrary views have been expressed, especially concerning the origin of the Khevsurs, who attracted the attention of investigators by their habits of dress—the coat of mail with crosses on their garments, their arms, their manner of living, and the differences in their physical features. The current opinion in times past was to see in them the descendants of the Crusaders who, it was supposed, were driven out of Palestine after their defeat and found refuge and safety in the inaccessible mountain regions of the Caucasus. At first this theory was brought into literature by the Russian writer, A. L. Zisserman. Taking into consideration the peculiar dress of the Khevsurs—their coat of

[7] Radde: b, 117.
[8] Merzbacher: I, 356.
[9] Bakradze: a, 39.

6: Grigolia E-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RI1 Georgia RI1

mail with the signs of the cross and the arms—especially the sabres with the inscriptions: *Solingen, Vivat Husar, Vivat Stephen Batory, Gloria Dei,* etc., Zisserman expresses in his book[10] the opinion of the possible origin of the Khevsurs from the Crusaders who found their refuge, as he thinks, in the secluded mountains of the Caucasus and intermarried with the women of the neighboring tribes and were joined by many fugitives from the other peoples of the country.

The opinions expressed by Mr. Zisserman were followed by representatives of other nations. The French investigators saw in the Georgian Khevsurs the descendants of French ancestors; the Germans, of the Germans; and the Russians, of the Russians.

Thus, for example, the French traveler, M. Taitbout de Marigny, regards the Khevsurs as the descendants of the French Crusaders, who, as he erroneously asserts, had brought Christianity to the pagan peoples of the Caucasus, an opinion which exposes his ignorance of the history of the country. As convincing "proof" of his opinion, he brings out the custom of the Khevsurs of wearing signs of the cross on their dresses, which, as he thinks, represents the crosses of the Sacred Order of Malta. Furthermore, he points out what he considers to be the presence of French family names among the Khevsurs, such as Devilete and Guillot. "On n'a, je crois, rien de très positif," writes M. Taitbout de Marigny,[11] "sur l'epoque où la christianisme fut introduit dans le Caucase et quels furent ceux qui le prêchèrent a ces peuples idolâtres. Une opinion assez commune attribue cette espèce d'apostolat à des Croisés échappés aux malheurs de leurs éxpeditions dans la Terre Sainte. La petite peuplade de Khevsur, située dans le Caucase auprès des Ossétiniens, porte sur ses habits des croix de Malte en drap rouge et sur ses boucliers de fer, elle en a de peints de la même couleur. L'on remarque aussi chez elle des noms français: tels que Devilete, Guillot."

On the other hand, the German investigator, N. A. Busch, is convinced that among the ancestors of the Khevsurs were also the German Crusaders. Discussing at first the opinion of A. L.

[10] Zisserman: 190, 208.
[11] Taitbout de Marigny: A, 73.

6: Grigolia E-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RI1 Georgia RI1

Zisserman concerning this question, he adds:[12] "Ich moechte noch weiter gehen und annehmen dass unter den Vohrfahren der chewsuren Deutsche gewesen sind, etwa die Nachkommen der Kreuzfaehrer. . . ." In confirmation of his opinion the author sees not only the knightly arms, but also: (1) the presence among the Khevsurs of tall blond men; (2) the veneration of the cross with manifestations reminiscent of Catholic usages; (3) the sacred beer; and (4) the silver cups with engraved Gothic buildings on them.

Analyzing the validity of the four main points brought out by the author in support of his opinion concerning the presence of German ancestry among the Khevsurs, we bring up for discussion the fourth point, which may appear to be the most convincing, that is, the preparation and use of beer by the Khevsurs.

That the Khevsurs brew beer, consume it in large quantities, and even regard it as a sacred beverage, is quite true; and that the Germans are also a beer-drinking people is also a known fact; but this circumstance cannot be used, as Mr. Busch thinks, as an indication of the possible relation of the Khevsurs and Germans to each other, because beer-brewing was known to and practiced by the ancient peoples of Asia Minor—the Sumerians and Akkadians[13]—thousands of years ago. There were three different sorts and qualities of beer known in the ancient world: the black beer, called *bilittu;* the beer of middle quality; and the beer mixed with water as the lowest quality.

From Babylonia the preparation of beer was transmitted to Egypt, where it was similarly made from barley, of which "a large quantity must have been grown; for barley bread was much in request, and the grain was also malted and beer brewed from it."[14] In addition to the method of preparing beer, it is also known that the most popular method of drinking beer among the Babylonians, Hittites, and other ancient peoples of Asia Minor was to suck the beverage with hollow reeds.[15] On many Babylonian and

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[12] Busch: 224.
[13] Hrozny.
[14] Rawlinson: I, 83.
[15] Meyer: 55-6.

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114 174 Hittite cylinder-stamps are depicted sitting men who are drinking beer in this manner from a jar placed between them. The same custom was observed by Xenophon among the ancient Armenians. So that if the Georgian Khevsurs borrowed the knowledge of beer-brewing at all it was from the ancient peoples of Asia Minor and not from the Germans of Europe.

Especially peculiar are the views of the celebrated Russian archeologist, the Countess P. S. Uvarov,[16] who visited the country of the Khevsurs in the summer of 1890 and saw, as she thinks, in the Khevsurs the "real" and "unquestionable" representatives of the historically famous *Cossacks* of the Dniepr River—the *Zaparojtsi*.

"Many times I was told," writes the author,[17] "that the Khevsurs are the descendants of the Crusaders and that the principal adornment of their dress is the cross. I think that such supposition is the result of sheer fantasy, used, to our regret, very often during the scientific investigations of the antiquities of the Caucasus, its peoples and ethnology. That the Khevsurs are not Georgians and are not of Georgian origin is for me an irrefutable fact; but in the meantime to see in them the descendants of the Crusaders is very difficult, because nothing confirms this opinion; neither the type of Khevsurs nor their character or customs. And as for their use at the present time of armor plate and the sign of the cross in their ornaments, the first is probably borrowed, not from the West but from the East (the elbow-pieces are of Oriental origin), and the second is used in the same manner as by the [302] peoples of Slavonic origin. The type of the Khevsur is rather reminiscent of a *Zaparojets* or a Scythian and Sarmatian from the Trojanic column: the same boots, the same trousers, the straight broadsword, the thick hair on the head cut in round, circular form, the same moustaches, the short beards, the virile expression of the faces, and the tress of hair of the ancient *Zaparojtsi*."

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[16] Uvarov: 232-3.
[17] *Ibid.*

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A few pages further on[18] the author adds: "I do not know if my supposition is correct, but it seems to me that the Khevsurs in Guli, Gudani and Khakhmathi,[19] representing the central part of Khevsuria, are better, stronger, finer and nearer to the type of the *Zaparojtsi*—Scythians than the inhabitants of Shatil, among whom there seems to be noticeable another type and character."

Concerning this passage, in which the former President of the Russian Archeological Society expresses her regret at the employment of fantasy by many investigators of the Caucasus and then brings out her own ideas regarding the origin of the Khevsurs, we may mention that her own theory, to our great regret, is also a work of fantasy and imagination. That the Khevsurs represent a part of the Georgian nation, we are convinced by many factors, such as their language, customs, religion, folk-lore, etc. What we intend at present to discuss is one of the facts brought out by the author in support of her theory of the origin of the Khevsurs from Slavonic stock; that is, the custom among the Khevsurs of cutting or shaving off the hair on the head and leaving only a tress on the crown.

That this custom was practiced by the Cossacks of the Dniepr River, called *Zaparojtsi,* is clear, but there is also proof that it was practiced by the Pshavs, neighbors of the Khevsurs, by the Circassians in the northwestern part of the country, and even on the other (southern) side of the Caucasian ridge—in Transcaucasia, by the Udins of Vartashen, and also to the south beyond the Caucasus—in Asia Minor, where thousands of years ago the powerful people of the Hittites practiced the same custom.

The custom among the Khevsurs of wearing a tress of hair has been observed by many investigators who have visited these people. Thus Dr. G. Radde writes in his book:[20] "Alle Maenner waren rasirt viele rasiren den Kopf ganz, andere lassen auf dem Scheitel einen langen Schopf (*Kotschori*) stehen, noch andere lassen in wilder Unordnung das Haar wachsen."

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[18] *Ibid.*: 236.
[19] Names of villages.
[20] Radde: C, 76.

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The above passage is given in the French translation by E. Chautre in his work, *Recherches Anthropologiques dans le Caucase.*[21]

The custom among the Khevsurs of wearing a tress of hair on the head, called in the Georgian, *kotchori*, was formerly observed also by the Pshavs, according to A. L. Zisserman.[22] The same custom prevailed among the Circassians in the northwest and the Udins in the south. "Among some of the old men," writes A. Arutinov about the Udins,[23] "we noticed the very peculiar fashion of wearing hair on the head. They cut their hair very short or even shave the whole head, leaving on the top, near the nape of the neck (occiput), a tress of hair approximately from seven to ten centimeters in length, and sometimes reaching 195 or even 250 centimeters."

"The men crop the hair of the head quite short," writes J. V. Klaproth[24] about the Circassians, "leaving only a lock the length of a finger hanging down from the crown, which is called *haidar.*" The same custom was observed among the Circassians by the French traveler, M. Taitbout de Marigny, who, in describing the life of the Circassians, writes: "Ils se rasent la tête, comme les Turcs, ne laissant qu'une petite touffé au sommet."[25]

In addition to the above-named peoples of the Caucasus, the ancient Hittites of Asia Minor also practiced this custom. Professor Eduard Meyer describes this custom of the Hittites as it is pictured on the Egyptian stone relief in Karnak, where an Egyptian prince leads the procession of the ambassadors from Asia, among whom the Hittites may be easily recognized by their peculiar facial traits and the characteristic tress of hair (pig tail).

"Die chetiter . . . tragen niemals einen Bart," writes Professor Meyer,[26] "und ihr Haar liegt in langer, zopfartiger Straehne. . . ." Especially characteristic is the hairdress of one Hittite soldier figured in the battle of Kadesh, who "hat das Haupthaar bis auf

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[21] Chantre: IV, 44-5.
[22] Zisserman: 228.
[23] Arutinov: 26.
[24] Klaproth: a, 322.
[25] Taitbout de Marigny: b, 272.
[26] Meyer: 12.

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einen vom Hinterkopf herabhaengenden, dem chinesischen gleichen Zopf abrasiert. . . ."[27]

From the evidence of the various investigators which we have presented above, it may be seen that if we accept the opinion of Countess Uvarov that the Khevsurs of the Caucasus originated from the Cossacks of the Dniepr, we might logically assume that the Circassians, the Udins and the Hittites are also of Slavonic origin, or that all these peoples, including the Hittites, borrowed this custom from the Cossacks of the Dniepr (*Zaparojtsi*)—which, in short, is a paradox.

We think that this custom existed among the Khevsurs for many centuries before the *Zaparojtsi* made their appearance in history. In the meantime the fact of the presence of this custom among other peoples of the Caucasus besides the Khevsurs shows their possible relation with each other and points to Asia Minor as the place of origin of this custom, whence it was brought to the Caucasus. Later, in the new era, this custom could have been borrowed by the Cossacks of the Dniepr from the Circassians, who occupied the northern slopes of the Caucasian ridge and controlled the adjacent territory around the Sea of Azov and the Russian steppe,[28] whence they were gradually forced out by the newcomers into the mountains of the Caucasus, where they resided until the Russian conquest in the second half of the nineteenth century. This conquest resulted in the mass emigration of the Circassians into the lands then occupied by the Turks.

To the above mentioned factors revealing the heterogeneity in the composition of the social groups among the Georgian Highlanders must be added the different ways and manners of adoption as practiced by the people which made relatively easy access for foreign elements into the communities, where they were admitted as full-fledged members and in time were gradually absorbed and assimilated.

There are different ways and manners of adoption. A person can be adopted either by the whole community as such, or he may be adopted by a private family or a private person. When the

[27] *Ibid.*, 13.
[28] Klaproth: a, 312.

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl CaucasiaRHl
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C. 162 563 G. 105 Caucasia -- Colchis in a larger sense -- have for a long time been the home of one of the oldest nations of the Caucasus, the K'art'velians. This group has played a foremost role in the history of Caucasian culture. Their leading nationality is that of the Georgians, who call themselves K'art'veli. They were the first to be converted to Christianity, in the 4th century A. D., by Tsminda Nino, who came there from the south, from Armenia. With this event, Georgian history and literature begins. It may well be assumed that there was some culture in pre-Christian times which was dependent on that of Persia, as indicated by traces of an earlier K'art'velian fire cult as the expression of Zarathustrism. This was probably brought in by the Persians after their conquest of Trans-Caucasia, during the Akhaemenian dynasty.

C. G. [174]

C. 563 G. 105 Like Armenia, Georgia always resisted Islamic domination; although politically not always successful, it never became an Islamic country. This explains the old and intimate cultural, religious, and political ties with Byzantium and later with Russia as the substitute and continuation of the East-Roman theocracy. This guaranteed Georgia's cultural, religious, and political survival.

This region of Trans-Caucasia differs in many, if not all, respects from the vast